

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ANKARA 04809 290929Z

ACTION SS-25

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EXDIS - MILITARY ADDRESSEES HANDLE AS SPECIAL EXCLUSIVE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: NATO, PEPR, GR, TU
SUBJECT: GREEK REINTEGRATION INTO NATO - U.S. APPROACHES

REF: A) 16194, B) ANKARA 4744, C) ATHENS 5456

1. IN LIGHT OF INFORMATION AND ASSESSMENT CONTAINED
REFTEL C, I NOW HAVE SERIOUS DOUBTS ABOUT WISDOM OF
RAISING WITH ECEVIT AT THIS POINT TURKISH ACCEPTANCE
OF NEW GREEK COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAVE BEEN
WORKED OUT ON MILITARY LEVEL. I FEAR THAT IT WOULD
PROVOKE A REACTION WHICH MIGHT JEOPARDIZE SOME OF THE
OTHER THINGS WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO ACCOMPLISH WITH
THE TURKS AT THE MOMENT AS REGARDS VAROSHA.

2. ASKING THE TURKS TO ACCEPT THESE NEW AEGEAN COMMAND
ARRANGEMENTS NOW WOULD BE THE POLITICAL EQUIVALENT OF
ASKING KARAMANLIS TO DECLARE HIMSELF PUBLICLY IN FAVOR
OF LIFTING THE EMBARGO. HOWEVER RATIONAL A THING THIS
WOULD BE TO ASK, IN PRESENT SITUATION IT IS JUST AS

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UNLIKELY TO SUCCEED.

3. REFTEL C MAKES IT CLEAR THAT KARAMANLIS HAS NOT,
IN FACT, DELINKED NATO REINTEGRATION FROM THE CYPRUS
PROBLEM SO IT WOULD NOT BE POSSIBLE TO ARGUE THAT
ACCEPTANCE OF NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WOULD REMOVE
FINAL OBSTACLE TO GREEK REINTEGRATION. I HAVE THE

IMPRESSION THERE ARE MANY OTHER ISSUES AS WELL THAT
STILL NEED TO BE RESOLVED IN OEG IN BRUSSELS.

4. I AM ALSO CONCERNED AT ESTIMATE THAT KARAMANLIS
WOULD NOT FIND IT POSSIBLE TO MAKE ANY KIND OF A
PUBLIC STATEMENT THAT NATO COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS WOULD
NOT BE TAKEN AS PRECEDENT TO BE USED AGAINST TURKISH
POSITION IN GREEK/TURKISH DISAGREEMENTS IN THE AEGEAN.
THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE A MAJOR CONCERN OF TURKS,
AND HIS UNREADINESS TO DO SOMETHING ALONG THESE LINES
WOULD INCREASE TURKISH SUSPICIONS OF AND UNWILLINGNESS
TO ACCOMMODATE NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS.

5. I BELIEVE ALL OF THIS GETS US BACK TO THE FACT
THAT WE FACE A GORDION KNOT THAT DEFIES UNTIEING.
REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO, IN MY JUDGMENT - ALTHOUGH IT WILL
CREATE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES FOR KARAMANLIS - IS THE
ONLY WAY OF SLICING THROUGH THESE COMPLEXITIES. IF
EMBARGO IS REMOVED, I BELIEVE TURKS CAN BE BROUGHT
ABOUT TO A POSITIVE VIEW OF NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS
WHICH GIVE GREEKS AIR AND SEA AUTHORITY IN AEGEAN, BUT
EVEN IN THIS CASE ONLY IF GREEKS ARE PREPARED TO DO
SOMETHING IN THE WAY OF MOVING TOWARDS TURKS IN DEALING
WITH FIR PROBLEM AND TO MAKE IT CLEAR THEY WILL NOT
EXPLOIT TURKISH AGREEMENT TO NEW COMMAND ARRANGEMENTS
DURING BILATERAL AEGEAN DISCUSSIONS. THE MOST I BELIEVE
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WE COULD DO WOULD BE TO LAY A BASIS FOR A POSITIVE
TURKISH RESPONSE QUICKLY UPON REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO.
OUR INFLUENCE WITH THE TURKS WILL BE AT A MAXIMUM AT
THAT POINT, AND WE SHOULD CERTAINLY USE IT BOTH FOR
CYPRUS PROGRESS AND GREEK REINTEGRATION. I RECOGNIZE
THAT A TURKISH CONCESSION NOW ON THIS ISSUE WOULD BE
A FAVORABLE DEVELOPMENT FROM CONGRESSIONAL STANDPOINT,
BUT IF THIS WILL NOT CHANGE GREEK POSITION THAT SOLVING
CYPRUS PROGRESS IS A PRECONDITION TO REINTEGRATION,
I WONDER IF IT IS THE RIGHT EXPENDITURE OF OUR
LIMITED INFLUENCE TO PRESS ON THIS POINT NOW.
UNFORTUNATELY, I BELIEVE GENERAL HAIG'S STATEMENT
BEFORE SENATE ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE YESTERDAY
THAT "I WOULD EXPECT TURKEY WOULD NEVER AGREE
TO GREECE'S REENTRY INTO NATO SO LONG AS THIS
EMBARGO REMAINS IN PLACE" IS TOTALLY CORRECT.

6. I SAW THE PRIME MINISTER BRIEFLY LAST NIGHT,
AND HE SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO TALK TO ME
WITHIN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. I EXPECT THAT IT WILL
BE POSSIBLE TO ARRANGE AN APPOINTMENT ON MONDAY,
JULY 3, AND I KNOW THE TURKS ARE PREPARING A RESPONSE

TO OUR DEMARCHE ON VAROSHA (STATE 161686) WHICH I
THINK WILL BE LESS NEGATIVE THAN TULUMEN'S REMARKS
IMPLIED (ANKARA 4763). I BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE
BEST TO LET THE GREEK REINTEGRATION ISSUE LIE FOR
THE MOMENT, BUT I WILL AWAIT DEPARTMENT'S INSTRUCTIONS.
ALSO IT IS POSSIBLE (ALTHOUGH NOT PROBABLE) THAT
DISCUSSION OF JULY 4 - 5 MEETING OF GREEK-TURKISH
MFA SECRETARIES GENERAL WOULD BE SUFFICIENTLY POSITIVE
TO CHANGE THE PROSPECTS OF FAVORABLE MOVEMENT FROM THE
TURKS ON THIS QUESTION.

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